

## Message Text

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ACTION ARA-20

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 EUR-25 AF-10 AID-20 IO-13 CIAE-00

DODE-00 PM-07 H-03 INR-10 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-10 PA-03

RSC-01 PRS-01 SPC-03 SS-15 USIA-15 ACDA-19 DRC-01

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R 182200Z SEP 73

FM AMEMBASSY KINGSTON

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 2942

INFO AMEMBASSY BRIDGETOWN

AMEMBASSY GEORGETOWN

AMEMBASSY PORT OF SPAIN

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE SECTION 1 OF 2 KINGSTON 3218

E.O. 11652: N/A

TAGS: PFOR, JM

SUBJ: MANLEY AND THE THIRD WORLD

SUMMARY. MANLEY EXPLAINS HIS STAND ON SENDING VOLUNTEERS TO AFRICA. HIS ACTIONS DURING AFRICAN SOJOURN WERE DICTATED AS MUCH BY DOMESTIC CONSIDERATIONS AS BY CONVICTION AND WHILE SUPPORTED BY THE ELECTORATE IN JAMICA, HAVE DRAWN MUCH FIRE FROM THE BUSINESS COMMUNITY AND MIDDLE CLASS. THE EMBASSY DOES NOT SEE ANY MARKED CHANGE IN MANLEY'S FOREIGN POLICY AS A RESULT OF ALGIERS, BUT RATHER A CONTINUATION OF CLOSE IDENTIFICATION WITH AFRICAN AND THIRD WORLD CAUSES. END SUMMARY

1. FREEDOM FIGHTERS. IN A HEADY ATMOSPHERE OF SELF PROCLAIMED THIRD WORLD LEADERSHIP, PRIME MNNISTER MICHAEL MANLEY RETURNED TO JAMAICA ON FRIDAY, SEPTEMBER 14. THE PRESS AND JAMAICA WERE WAITING AND THEY IMMEDIATELY

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ZEROED IN ON MNNLEY'S OFFERS, ON BEHALF OF JAMICA AND

GUYANA AT THE ALGIERS CONFERENCE, AT LUSAKA AND AT DARESSALAM, TO UNDERTAKE TO RAISE AND TRANSPORT VOLUNTEERS "WHENEVER THE OAU FEELS THAT VOLUNTEERS FROM OTHER COUNTRIES CAN BE SUCCESSFULLY TRAINED TO ASSIST IN THE SUCCESSFUL OVERTHROW OF THE SMITH REGIME, PORTUGUESE COLONIALISM AND SOUTH AFRICAN TYRANNY." (ALGIERS SPEECH). IN RESPONDING TO THE PRESS, MANLEY REITERATED HIS OFFER, BUT EMPHASIZED THE VOLUNTARINESS OF THE PROPOSAL AND ADDED THAT "WE WOULD ARRANGE FOR SUCH PEOPLE TO BE ABLE TO GET TO THE BATTLE LINE WHERE THEY WOULD BE PAID AND ORGANIZED AND TRAINED AND LOOKED AFTER BY THE LIBERATION COMMITTEE OF THE ORGANIZATION OF AFRICAN UNITY." HE EQUATED SUCH SERVICE WITH HIS OWN AND OTHER JAMAICANS' SERVICE IN WORLD WAR II AND ASSERTED THAT THE AFRICAN FREEDOM FIGHTERS WERE NOT A TERRORIST MOVEMENT, BUT A LEGITIMATE MOVEMENT TOWARDS THE REALIZATION OF THE RIGHT TO INDEPENDENCE AND SELF-DETERMINATION WHICH IS A FUNDAMENTAL TENET OF THE UNITED NATIONS. THERE WAS NO SUGGESTION THAT JAMAICAN DEFENCE FORCE PERSONNEL WOULD BE ASKED OR PERMITTED TO VOLUNTEER.

2. REACTION: EVEN BEFORE MANLEY'S RETURN TO THE ISLAND, HIS OFFERS TO SEND "FREEDOM FIGHTERS" HAD DRAWN CONSIDERABLE CRITICISM INSIDE JAMAICA. THE PRESIDENT OF THE JAMAICA MANUFACTURER'S ASSOCIATION LED THE CRITICISM IN A SPEECH LAST WEEK IN WHICH, REFLECTING THE VIEWS OF MANY IN THE BUSINESS COMMUNITY, HE DESCRIBED MANLEY'S PROPOSAL AS PREPOSTEROUS IN THE FACE OF JAMAICA'S OWN SHORTAGE OF MANPOWER TO POLICE ITS CRIMINALS AND ANARCHISTS (SIC). HE CRITICIZED MANLEY'S PROCLIVITY FOR INVOLVING JAMAICA IN AFRICAN LIBERATION WHEN JAMAICA HAD ITS SHARE OF PROBLEMS AT HOME. HE SUGGESTED THAT, PERHAPS, JAMAICA SHOULD PACK ITS CRIMINALS OFF AS FREEDOM FIGHTERS.

3. MANY JAMAICANS TO WHOM EMBASSY OFFICERS HAVE SPOKEN HAVE NOT REALLY TAKEN THE PRIME MINISTER'S OFFER SERIOUSLY AND DO NOT EXPECT IT TO RESULT IN ANY ACTION. THE MORE CONSERVATIVE JAMAICANS PREDICABLY CONDEMNED IT AS FOOLISHNESS AND SUGGESTED THAT JAMAICANS FIGHTING AS FREEDOM FIGHTERS COULD BE CONSIDERED AN ACT OF WAR. THEY HAVE EXPRESSED CONCERN ABOUT THE RETURN OF SUCH GUERRILLA-TRAINED LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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JAMAICANS TO JAMAICAN SOIL AT SOME TIME IN THE FUTURE. EVEN STRONG SUPPORTERS OF THE PRIME MINISTER HAVE SEEMED SOMEWHAT EMBARRASSED AT HIS OFFER.

4. IN A LENGTHY LETTER TO THE GLEANER, INDEPENDENT MP ROBERT LIGHTBOURNE DEMANDED A PARLIAMENTARY DEBATE ON THE ISSUE.

5. MANLEY AND CASTRO. MANLEY'S DECISION TO RIDE TO ALGIERS ABOARD FIDEL CASTRO'S RUSSIAN-BUILD AIRCRAFT CREATED, PERHAPS, MORE UNEASE THAN HIS OFFER OF FREEDOM FIGHTERS FOR AFRICA. JAMAICANS TAKE COMMUNISM VERY SERIOUSLY AND AN ELECTION WAS LOST IN 1962 DUE AT LEAST IN PART TO OPPOSITE ALLEGATIONS OF COMMUNIST TENDENCIES. ALTHOUGH MOST JAMAICANS REALIZE FULL WELL THAT A FREE PLANE RIDE DOES NOT COMMIT JAMAICA TO ANYTHING, THEY ARE UNEASY ABOUT THWAT MIGHT HAVE TRANSPIRED BETWEEN MANLEY AND CASTRO DURING ALL OF THOSE HOURS ON CASTRO'S PLANE TOGETHER - WHO CONVERTED WHOM? THE DAILY GLEANER ARGUED IN A SEPTEMBER 15 EDITORIAL THAT JAMAICA HAS, IN FACT, HAD CONTACTS WITH CUBA OVER THE YEARS, INCLUDING THE EXCHANGE OF ATHLETES AND CULTURAL GROUPS, AND THERE IS NO REASON TO SUSPECT THAT MANLEY WOULD SELL OUT JAMAICAN INTERESTS FOR A PLANE RIDE. IT ACKNOWLEDGES, HOWEVER, THAT THE MOVE COULD PANIC THE TIMID AND FEARFUL. HEWITT

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6. COMMENT. IN ASSESSING THE ACTIONS OF MANLEY AT INTERNATIONAL MEETINGS, IT MUST BE REMEMBERED THAT HIS

STRONGEST SUIT IS RHETORIC. EVER SINCE ASSUMING OFFICE, MANLEY HAS BEEN FASCINATED BY THE THIRD WORLD AND HAS CAREFULLY NURTURED A DOMESTIC IMAGE OF HIS POPULARITY AND RESPECT AMONG THE CARIBBEAN AND THIRD WORLD LEADERS. IT IS OF LITTLE CONSEQUENCE TO HIM OR TO HIS SUPPORTERS THAT HIS EFFORTS ATTRACT VITUALLY NO ATTENTION IN THE METROPOLITAIN PRESS. THE IMPORTANT THING IS THE IMAGE CREATED IN JAMAICA. WHILE MANLEY UNDOUBTEDLY STRONGLY SYMPATHIZES WITH THE AFRICAN LIBERATION MOVEMENT, THE FACT THAT HE IS THE PRIME MINISTER OF A PREDOMINANTLY BLACK COUNTRY COMPELS HIM TO IDENTIFY WITH IT MORE THAN MIGHT OTHERWISE BE THE CASE. HIS POSTURING IS PRIMARILY FOR HOME CONSUMPTION WHERE HE MIGHT ATTRACT CRITICISM FOR HIS "OUTRAGEOUS" PROPOSALS FROM SOME ELEMENTS, BUT NOT FROM THE AVERAGE VOTER.

7 MANLEY'S DECISION TO RIDE TO ALGIERS ON CASTRO'S LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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AIRCRAFT WAS PROBABLY DUE AS MUCH TO MANLEY'S STRONG DESIRE TO MEET WITH CASTRO AS TO ANY WEIGHTY FOREIGN POLICY CONSIDERATION. HE IS DETERMINED THAT HE WILL NOT BE CAUGHT BY SURPRISE WHEN THE INEVITABLE (TO HIM) CHANGE IN US POLICY OCCURS. FURTHER, HIS IMPACT IN THE THIRD WORLD MAY HAVE BEEN ENHANCED BY HIS ARRIVAL IN ALGIERS ABOARD A SPECIAL AIRCRAFT INSTEAD OF A ROUTINE COMMERCIAL FLIGHT.

8. WHILE THE DAILY GLEANER GENERALLY HAS LITTLE USE FOR NON-ALIGNED CONFERENCES AND AGREES WITH MANLEY THAT THEIR DEEDS SHOULD MATCH THEIR RHETORIC, ITS SEPTEMBER 16 FRONT PAGE EDITORIAL PROBABLY ACCURATELY REFLECTS THE MOOD OF MANY MIDDLE CLASS JAMAICANS TOWARDS MANLEY'S RECENT PERFORMANCES. INIT THEODORE SEELEY, THE GLEANER'S MANAGING EDITOR, ACKNOWLEDGES THAT MANLEY PROBABLY HAS MADE A NAME FOR HIMSELF IN THE NON-ALIGNED WORLD, BUT WONDERS WHETHER SUCH GRAND GESTURES WILL REALLY HELP TO SOLVE THE PROBLEMS IMMEDIATELY FACING JAMAICA. THE LONG WEEKEND IS OVER, COMMENTS SEELEY, AND THE PRIME MINISTER MUST FACE THE REALITY OF MONDAY MORNING. THE SKILL AND BRILLIANCE OF JAMAICA'S POLITICIANS IN THE FIELD OF SPEECH AND EMOTIONAL APPEAL TO THE PEOPLE NO LONGER NEEDS ANY PROOF, HE SAYS. THE PROOF THAT IS NEEDED IS IN THE PERFORMANCE OF COPING WITH LIGHT AND POWER, TRANSPORT, AND SANITATION. SEELEY SUGGESTS THAT THE FIRST DUTY OF A GOVERNMENT IS TO GOVERN

9. THE EMBASSY DOES NOT BELIEVE THAT MANLEY'S RECENT

GESTURES, FOR ALL THEIR FLAMBOYANCE, CONSTITUTE ANY  
FUNDAMENTAL CHANGE IN THE FOREIGN POLICY OF HIS GOVERNMENT.  
WHAT CHANGES THERE MAY HAVE BEEN LIE IN THE AREA OF NUANCE,  
GIVEN THE INSUBSTANTIAL NATURE OF THIRD WORLD POLITICS,  
THEIR LONG TERM EFFECTS ARE LIKELY TO BE MINIMAL EXCEPT  
PERHAPS IN JAMAICA ITSELF. HERE MANLEY'S INSTINCT FOR  
THE REACTION OF THE MASSES IS PROBABLY SOUND,  
AND HIS RECENT GESTURES SHOULD DRIVE HIS POPULARITY STILL  
HIGHER. THIS TIME, HOWEVER, INCREASED POPULARITY WITH THE  
MASSSES WILL BE ATTAINED AT THE COST OF REAL ALARM AMONG  
THE BUSINESS AND MIDDLE CLASSES, AND PERHAPS SOME REAL  
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ECONOMIC DAMAGE IN TERMS OF INVESTMENTS WITHHELD OR  
WITHDRAWN.

10. THE MOST NOTICEABLE FOREIGN RELATIONS NUANCE  
IN THESE THIRD WORLD HIGH JINKS WAS NOT MANLEY'S CONTACTS  
WITH FIDEL CASTRO, BUT HIS TENDENCY TO WORK IN TANDEM  
WITH PRIME MINISTER BURNHAM OF GUYANA AT ALGIERS. AS  
SEEN FROM KINGSTON, MANLEY CAST HIMSELF IN THE ROLE OF  
DON QUIXOTE WITH BURNHAM PLAYING SANCHE PANZA.  
(DOUBTLESS, THESE ROLES WERE REVERSED AS SEEN FROM GEORGE-  
TOWN.) MANLEY HAS LONG BEEN IMPRESSED BY  
BURNHAM AND TO SOME EXTENT FEELS INCOMPETITION WITH  
HIM. HOWEVER, THERE IS ONE PROFOUND DIFFERENCE BETWEEN  
THE MANLEY AND BURNHAM GOVERNMENTS. AS MINISTER OF  
MINES AND NATURAL RESOURCES, ALAN ISSAACS REMARKED TO ME  
TODAY OVER LUNCH, BURNHAM'S OPPOSITION IS ON THE LEFT  
WHEREAS MANLEY'S IS ON THE RIGHT. THIS DIFFERENCE  
MAY HAVE ALREADY BEGUN TO OPERATE TO KEEP MANLEY'S MORE  
GRANDIOSE IMPULSES UNDER CONTROL. HEWITT

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